

Message Text

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NODIS CHEROKEE

DEPARTMENT PASS SECRETARY FLASH

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

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SUBJECT: RABIN REPLY TO DEMARCHE

REF: TEL AVIV 4914; SECTO 8064

1. I MET AGAIN THIS EVENING WITH PRIME MINISTER RABIN AT HIS REQUEST. HE BEGAN BY READING FOLLOWING RATHER LENGTHY "TALKING PAPER":

BEGIN QUOTE

I HAVE CHECKED WITH DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND FOREIGN MINISTER ALLON WHETHER APPROACHES WERE INDEED MADE BY ISRAEL TO THE BRITISH, ITALIAN OR OTHER EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS REQUESTING THEM TO ACTIVELY INVOLVE THEMSELVES IN THE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE INTERIM AGREEMENT. I WISH TO INFORM YOU THAT THERE IS ABSOLUTELY NO FOUNDATION TO THIS ASSERTION.

1. NOT ONLY DID WE NOT ASK FOR SUCH INTERVENTION, WE HAVE TOLD THE BRITISH AND OTHER EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS NOT TO INVOLVE THEMSELVES IN THIS MATTER BECAUSE IT IS COUNTER TO OUR BEST INTERESTS AND DECLARED POSITION. ON MORE THAN ONE OCCASION WE WERE EVEN COMPELLED TO TAKE PREVENTIVE ACTION TO PUT A STOP TO INITIATIVES OF CERTAIN EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS THAT WERE ALREADY UNDER WAY. THROUGHOUT, OUR GOAL HAS BEEN TO MAKE SURE THAT ONLY THE PARTIES TOGETHER WITH THE UNITED STATES BE IN ANY WAY ACTIVELY INVOLVED. THIS, I HAVE

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TO POINT OUT, IS IN CONTRAST TO THE POSITION OF THE PRESIDENT

OF EGYPT WHO HAS BEEN URGING EUROPEAN AND OTHER GOVERNMENTS TO INTRUDE THEMSELVES INTO THE PROCESS, NOT TO SPEAK OF HIS PROLIFIC INVITATIONS TO THE GENEVA CONFERENCE.

2. THE ONE THING THAT WE ASKED THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER, MR. HAROLD WILSON, TO DO ON OUR BEHALF AS A FIRM FRIEND OF ISRAEL, WAS TO PREVENT THE COUNTRIES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY FROM UNDERTAKING ANY INITIATIVE DURING THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN OURSELVES AND EGYPT THROUGH THE GOOD OFFICES OF THE UNITED STATES. TO THE BEST OF OUR KNOWLEDGE MR. WILSON ACTED UPON OUR REQUEST AND IT IS MY HOPE THAT HE WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO.

3. IT WOULD NEVER HAVE ENTERED OUR MINDS TO ASK THE ITALIANS, OF ALL GOVERNMENTS, TO DISPLAY ACTIVITY OF ANY KIND IN THIS MATTER.

4. AN AREA OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN WHICH WE HAVE ASKED OUR FRIENDS IN EUROPE TO SHOW INITIATIVE CONCERNS THE STRUGGLE FORCED UPON US AGAINST THE ARAB DESIGN TO BRING ABOUT OUR SUSPENSION IN THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY - A DESIGN REFLECTED, INTER ALIA, IN THE DECISIONS OF THE JEDDA CONFERENCE AND THE VARIOUS PRONOUNCEMENTS OF ARAB LEADERS, INCLUDING EGYPTIAN LEADERS. IN THIS CONTEXT WE ALSO APPROACHED THE ITALIAN FOREIGN MINISTER IN HIS PRESENT CAPACITY AS THE PRESIDENT OF THE EEC COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. PERHAPS IT IS THIS ACTIVITY THAT LIES AT THE ROOT OF THE MISUNDERSTANDING.

5. IN THE COURSE OF OUR EFFORTS TO COUNTER THE PERSISTENT AND HOSTILE BRIEFINGS EMANATING FROM ARAB CAPITALS, AS WELL AS FROM OTHER SOURCES, THAT ARE ADDRESSED TO EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS (WHO CLEARLY DISPLAY A PARTICULAR SENSITIVITY TO THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION) WE OCCASIONALLY DO BRIEF THE FOREIGN MINISTRIES OF FRIENDLY COUNTRIES IN ORDER TO INFORM THEM OF OUR VIEWS. THIS IS ALWAYS DONE ORALLY EITHER WITH THEIR AMBASSADORS IN ISRAEL OR THROUGH OUR AMBASSADORS IN THE HOST CAPITALS. I WISH TO EMPHASIZE THAT SUCH BRIEFINGS ARE ALWAYS DELIVERED IN GENERAL TERMS AND WITH UTMOST CAUTION. THE ONE PERSON WHO RECEIVED A MORE COMPREHENSIVE REPORT FROM THE FOREIGN MINISTER WAS HAROLD WILSON BY VIRTUE OF HIS
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SPECIAL POSITION. AND IN THIS INSTANCE, TOO, HE WAS SHOWN NO MAPS OR DOCUMENTS AND WE REVEALED NO SECRETS BETWEEN OURSELVES AND THE UNITED STATES.

6. IN THE LIGHT OF THE ABOVE IT IS CLEAR BEYOND ANY SHADOW OF DOUBT THAT WE HAVE NEVER COMMUNICATED TO OTHER GOVERNMENTS SECRETS OF ANY KIND INVOLVING OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS. NEITHER HAVE WE EVER DISCLOSED THE CONTENTS OF INTIMATE EX-

CHANGES BETWEEN ISRAELI AND AMERICAN STATESMEN, AND WE HAVE

NO INTENTION OF DOING SO IN THE FUTURE.

7. WITH RESPECT TO THE QUESTION OF AN "AMERICAN PRESENCE" IN THE PASSES, WE HAVE BEEN PARTICULARLY CAREFUL NOT TO GO BEYOND WHAT HAS ALREADY BEEN PUBLICLY ALLUDED TO BY OTHERS (SUCH AS THE INTERVIEW OF PRESIDENT SADAT PUBLISHED IN THE HEARST CHAIN ON JULY 8, 1975; THE STATEMENT OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE IN HIS MILWAUKEE PRESS CONFERENCE OF JULY 14, 1975; ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE SISCO'S STATEMENT IN HIS CBS INTERVIEW OF JULY 24, 1975). AT NO TIME HAVE WE EVER PRESENTED THE PROSPECT OF AN "AMERICAN PRESENCE" IN THE PASSES TO BE AN AMERICAN COMMITMENT AND WE HAVE CERTAINLY NEVER GIVEN GROUNDS FOR THE SPREAD OF SUCH AN IMPRESSION.

8. I WISH TO ASSURE THE PRESIDENT THAT WE DEEPLY APPRECIATE AND VALUE THE SPECIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL AND WE ARE AT PAINS TO HONOR AND RESPECT ALL THAT ARISES OUT OF THOSE RELATIONS WITH REGARD TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

9. I FEEL IT MY DUTY TO STATE WITH ALL THE AUTHORITY AT MY COMMAND THAT I REJECT THE VERY NOTION THAT ISRAEL IS NOT SINCERELY INTERESTED IN ACHIEVING AN INTERIM AGREEMENT WITH EGYPT THROUGH THE GOOD OFFICES OF THE UNITED STATES AND THAT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS ISRAEL IS EVEN SEEKING WAYS TO DAMAGE THE PROSPECTS OF AN AGREEMENT.

10. I WISH TO REITERATE MY FIRM ASSURANCE TO THE PRESIDENT THAT ISRAEL REMAINS FAITHFUL TO THE UNDERTAKINGS IT HAS SHOULDERS IN THE DETAILED PROPOSAL WE TRANSMITTED AT THE SUGGESTION OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE ON JULY 25, 1975 AND WHICH WAS COMMUNICA-
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TED BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT TO EGYPT TOGETHER WITH THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF DR. KISSINGER. END QUOTE.

2. PRIME MINISTER THEN READ ME EXCERPTS FROM A JULY 24 CAIRO AP REPORT REFERRING FIRST TO " OFFICIAL" THEN TO "OTHER" SOURCES IN CAIRO AS STATING THAT SADAT HAD AGREED TO A US-SPONSORED PROPOSAL THAT CALLED FOR US PERSONNEL TO MAN EARLY WARNING STATIONS (" EGYPT AND ISRAEL ARE EXPECTED TO MAN ONE STATION EACH AND THE US FOUR OTHERS.")

3. AFTER WE GOT OVER THAT ONE, I TOLD RABIN I WOULD PASS HIS RESPONSE TO HELSINKI FOR IMMEDIATE ATTENTION OF PRESIDENT FORD. I THEN TURNED CONVERSATION BACK TO ISSUE OF ISRAELI DIPLOMATIC DEMARCHES IN EUROPE, NOTING THAT FROM HIS REMARKS, IT WAS CLEAR OUR REPORTS OF CONTENTS OF DEMARCHES WERE AT VARIANCE WITH EACH OTHER.

I SAID THAT MORE THAN ONE ISSUE WAS INVOLVED, AND THAT POSSIBLY MOST DAMAGING CONSEQUENCE OF REPORTS WE HAD RECEIVED WAS THAT ISRAELIS HAD ALLUDED TO US SUPPORT FOR ISRAELI PROPOSALS. SURELY, RABIN WOULD RECOGNIZE THAT SUCH ALLEGATIONS CONVEYED TO THIRD PARTIES WERE BOUND TO REACH EGYPTIANS AND OUR ROLE AS MEDIATOR WOULD BE PREJUDICED.

I HOPED RABIN COULD ASSURE ME THIS HAD NOT BEEN DONE AND WOULD NOT BE DONE IN FUTURE EXCHANGES. RABIN'S REPLY WAS INDIRECT. HE SAID HE WISHED WE WOULD SUPPORT THE ISRAELI POSITION, BUT SINCE WE HADN'T GIVEN SUCH CLEAR-CUT SUPPORT, HOW COULD THE ISRAELIS HAVE INSTRUCTED THAT APPROACHES BE MADE ALLEGING THAT WE DID? AFTER FURTHER FENCING, I ASKED RABIN IF I COULD ASSURE THE PRESIDENT THAT HE NEED HAVE NO CONCERN ON THIS SCORE. RABIN ACQUIESCED, THROUGH HE MADE POINT THAT THE CONTINUED ISRAELI COMMITMENT TO STRIVE FOR AN INTERIM AGREEMENT DID NOT MEAN ISRAELI GOVERNMENT WAS READY TO ACCEPT ANY AGREEMENT--IT MEANT AN AGREEMENT ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES. I SAID THIS WAS UNDERSTOOD.

4. IN REVIEWING HIS ORAL STATEMENT, I NOTED THAT PRIME MINISTER HAD USED WORD "SABOTAGE" IN PARA 9. I SAID THAT IN MY DEMARCHE ON JULY 30, THIS WORD HAD NOT BEEN USED OR IMPLIED. AFTER CONSULTATION WITH HIS COLLEAGUE (MIZRACHI), HE SAID THAT WORD "SABOTAGE" WAS CITED IN ISRAELI WASHINGTON EMBASSY CABLE CONVEYING MESSAGE FROM SECRETARY PASSED VIA EAGLEBURGER TO SHALEV. RABIN THEN SUGGESTED IT WAS APPROPRIATE THAT "SABOTAGE" READ "DAMAGE", AND
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DAMAGE WAS WRITTEN INTO TEXT OF HIS REMARKS.

5. IN CONCLUDING OUR DISCUSSION, RABIN SAID HE WISHED ME TO KNOW HE WOULD BE LEAVING TOMORROW FOR TOP LEVEL POST-HEL-SINKI MEETING OF SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL IN STOCKHOLM (AUG 1) HOSTED BY PALME. IT HAD BEEN AGREED THAT ONLY MIDDLE EAST ISSUE TO BE DISCUSSED WAS QUESTION OF ISRAELI EXPULSION FROM UN, WHICH HE SAID WOULD HAVE ONLY 45 MINUTES OUT OF THE SIX HOURS SCHEDULE. HE ASSURED ME THERE WOULD BE NO MENTION OF INTERIM AGREEMENT OR ANY OTHER ASPECT OF MIDDLE EAST PROBLEMS.

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